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ABSTRACT

Television politics, emphasizing emotions over rational decision making, has been accused of warping the political process, especially in the election of the president. In the incomplete medium--the collection of dots--that is television, the viewer completes the circle of communication, filling in the image with his or her own attitudes. The feeling of participation is enhanced through certain techniques: the mobile camera, vocalics, and a conversational style, as well as the projection of character through costuming, cosmetics, kinesics, and organismics. In addition, the speed of television transmission, intensified by the introduction of videotape, allows candidates to react to events as they happen in the campaign, creating viewer involvement. The progression from black-and-white to color adds a greater emotional impact to the medium and further decreases the importance of the spoken word on television. In the 1976 presidential elections sincerity was important, and Gerald Ford used lifestyle ads to promote good feeling and good living, using music to establish mood and his family to establish character. The most successful political advertising campaigns (usually the work of political consultants like Tony Schwartz, Joe Napolitan, Charles Guggenheim, and David Garth) share one common attribute: the ability to capitalize on the attitudes, beliefs, and desires of the viewer. Television persuades primarily through nonverbal emotional images, and character appears to be best displayed by these nonverbals of television. (NKA)

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NONVERBAL MESSAGES IN TELEVISED PRESIDENTIAL POLITICAL ADVERTISING--PRAGMATIC POLITICS WITH ELECTORAL BENEFITS

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1 INTRODUCTION

> A new kind of personality now dominates American politics--the candidate from central casting. John Kennedy was the model that launched this new breed of politician. These men are rich or they project the impression of wealth. They wear the right clothes, speak with assurance and an educated manner, and boast full heads of hair and athletic stances even into middle age. . .They are telegenic, stage-wise, crafty. For better or worse, these spiritual sons of the New Frontier represent the leadership pool of the 1980's.[1]

The "spiritual sons of the New Frontier" recognize, as did Kennedy, the importance of image in politics in an electronic age. For better or worse: does television politics, emphasizing emotions over rational decision-making, warp the political process?

There is no question that television has transformed politics and campaigning. As John Kennedy eliminated Nixon from political life for eight years--in large part due to his appearance in the crucial first 1960 debate, his projection of decisiveness and youthful vigor combined with Nixon's disastrous appearance--politicians not recognizing the nature of televised campaigning have been eliminated from the high stakes in the political game. To be a president the candidate must act like a president; must look like a president. To look like a president the candidate is dependent on someone who is an expert on the nature of television--the political consultant. The prime vehicle for image projection used by consultants is the media, more specifically television, to reach a wide and diverse audience. To be a credible candidate you must have television advertising **and** it must be good.

In this paper I will examine presidential television commercials, with particular emphasis on nonverbal rhetoric, especially important given the nature of television, emphasizing the visual over the verbal; and the nature of campaigns, plugging into emotions to capture the viewers' hearts and votes. I will focus on two areas: first, the context of

political advertisements; including the nature of the presidency, the technology of television and the political situation; and second, the styles and techniques used by political consultants, focusing on the work of Tony Schwartz, Joe Napolitan, Charles Guggenheim, and David Garth.

I am looking at paid commercial advertisements, as opposed to nonpaid forms of media (i.e. news, talk shows), because candidates determine the form and content of paid advertisements. Furthermore, "nonpaid media reacts to, and is conditioned by, paid media."[2] Candidates can use advertisements to set a tone for the campaign--to project a certain image. Advertising has other functions and a candidate's image is more than his advertisements: advertising is used to respond to events in a campaign, news is an important shaper of the candidate's image; but candidates have the most control over advertisements.

I am using Nimmo's definition of image: "a human construct imposed on an array of perceiver attributes projected by an object, event, or person."[3] This definition explicitly recognizes the dual nature of an image: a combination of what the candidate projects to the voter and what the voter projects on the candidate. The viewer completes the image with his/her attitudes, beliefs, and desires. The candidate must plug into these feelings: "Image-making, no matter how manipulative, doesn't replace reality; it becomes part of it."[4] Political spots must be analyzed in the context of the political situation.

2 THE CONTEXT OF POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENTS

2.1 The Nature of the Presidency

The nature of the Office of the President exerts powerful influence over the character of presidential political advertising. Voters carry high expectations into the voting booth. The President "should be strong, bold, and decisive – a father figure." He should be "skillful, knowledgeable, and competent – a product of the technological age." He should be understanding and able to solve complex problems – "a savior in times of trouble."[5] The President is an idealized version of Americans themselves: a paragon of virtue to represent the nation. Ray Price, strategist for the Nixon campaign in 1968, recognized the importance of expectations in the creation of the "new Nixon":

> Selection of a President has to be an act of faith. It becomes increasingly so as the business of government becomes ever more incomprehensible to the average voter. This faith isn't achieved by reason; it's achieved by charisma, by a **feeling** of trust that can't be argued or reasoned, but that comes across in those silences that surround the words. The words are important – but less for what they actually say than for the sense they convey, for the impression they give of the man himself, his hopes, his standards, his competence, his intelligence, his essential humanness, and the directions of history he represents. . .we should be concentrating on building a **received** image of RN as the kind of man proud parents would ideally want their sons to grow up to be: a man who embodies the national ideal, its aspirations, its dreams, a man whose **image** the people want in their homes as a source of inspiration, and whose voice they want as the representataive of their nation in the councils of the world, and of their generation in the pages of history.[6]

Furthermore, expectations combine with the imagery of television to promote the idealized image of the President as superhero:

> As a result of continual exposure to television, we have learned to project characteristics of our television heroes to our political heroes. We want them to be articulate and also look competent enough to handle the office they are seeking. They should exude confidence and assuredness, for it is the man we are looking at and not so much his message that is all important. We tend to like and judge people by their style and appearance. Our memories of words fade long before we forget the physical impression of an individual. We recall in terms of overall impressions.[7]

Ronald Reagan is the exemplar of the political superhero, making a successful transition from television hero to political hero in the eyes of many Americans.[8]

2.2 The Technology of Television

In the above quote, Hiebert notes that we remember images--overall impressions--longer than specific actions. We remember the image of the candidate longer than what he says. We remember nonverbal longer than verbal messages. We watch and listen to television, more than one sense is involved, we become participants. Television is an incomplete medium--a collection of dots. The viewer completes the circle of communication filling in the image with his/her own attitudes. The feeling of participation is enhanced through certain techniques: for example, the subjective, mobile camera and shoulder shots promote the impression of the viewer as participant in the commercial.

The feeling of participation is also projected by the conversational style of speaking unique to television: an "intimate, close-up medium."[9] Atkinson, in Our Master's Voices, writes that viewers sense they are eavesdropping rather than being spoken to directly. A conversational style can be more important than the content of the candidate's message: "favourable audience responses are almost always prompted by the politicians themselves. If they are to be sure of obtaining an immediate response of adequate duration and intensity, **how they speak** can be seen to matter at least as much as **what they say**."[10] Vocalics hurt McGovern and helped Nixon in 1968: "Compared to Nixon, McGovern was an ineffectual speaker. Nixon's voice is deep and resonant, his tonal range large. McGovern's higher, occasionally whiney pitch, limited tonal range, and tendency toward nasalized speech made it difficult to attend to him."[11]

Vocalics is important as it contributes to the promotion of a certain image--an image projected primarily through the visual message: "A candidate's appearance and demeanor appear to provide viewers with the most substantial clues to his character. The rational import of what the candidate says on television, as long as it is not blatantly

offensive to the great central cluster of the electorate, appears to have very little influence on viewers' perception of image."[12] McGinniss writes of the attempted image in the 1968 Nixon campaign:

> If it were done right, it would permit Treleaven to create a Nixon image that was entirely independent of the words. Nixon would say his same old tiresome things, but no-one would have to listen. The words would become Muzak. Something pleasant and lulling in the background. The flashing pictures would be carefully selected to create the impression that somehow Nixon represented competence, respect for tradition, serenity, faith that the American people were better than people anywhere else, and that all these problems others shouted about meant nothing in a land blessed with the tallest buildings, strongest armies, biggest factories, cutest children, and rosiest sunsets in the world. Even better: through association with the pictures, Richard Nixon would **become** these very things.[13]

The complementary and contradictory nature of verbal and nonverbal messages is displayed by Nixon's ads in 1968, combining voice-overs of Nixon calmly talking while visuals blended stills of riots, Vietnam, urban and rural decay, then moving to a collage of faces emphasizing the "American Dream" and shots of mountains, etc., emphasizing "scenic values." The script juxtaposed Nixon's peaceful vision for the future with a chaotic McGovern alternative. Nixon met the audience's desires, in line with Blumenthal's theory of wish fulfillment: "The consultant must stimulate the public's wish fulfillment for the candidate through manipulation of symbols and images enticing voters to believe that the candidate can satisfy their needs."[14] The importance of the visual is also illustrated by the panel program, or "Hillsboro format." Used extensively by Nixon in 1968, a panel of citizens is carefully selected to show the makeup of the candidate's constituencies. The panel usually throws softball questions at the candidate, but tough questions are sometimes used to project the quality of leadership as used by Eisenhower in 1952. Ford used a version of the panel with a "traveling talk show" in 1976 to dispel his image as a "controlled remote man." Ford's interviewer was Joe Garagiola, "a relaxed, likable man," used to bring out Ford's character as "a warm, back-slapping sort."[15]

Marshall McLuhan is perhaps the most noted of commentators of the nature of television: "the medium is the message." Although McLuhan overstates the case, the message is affected by the medium. When hotted up by dramatization and stingers, it performs less well because there is less opportunity for participation. Radio is a hot medium. When given additional intensity, it performs better."[16] McLuhan surmised that televised commercials reflecting the wants, needs, and desires of the audience were increasing: "The continuous pressure is to create ads more and more in the image of audience motives and desires. The product matters less as audience participation increases."[17]

Jerry Mander in a similar vein argues that the very nature of television technology alters the message. Stuart Spencer, most noted as Ronald Reagan's consultant, recognizes the distinct effects of print and television on Reagan's message: "Reagan is not a good print candidate. When he says things in person or on television, it doesn't sound that harsh. But when you read it in print, it sometimes has a harsh effect."[18]

Consultants are thus conscious of the effects of the medium. Philip Weiner discusses the nonverbal impact of oculesics:

> We take a new candidate, sit him in front of a video-tape machine, and see how he and the camera interact. People look one way across my desk and another way on film. Most new people move their heads alot or shift their eyes, which registers on camera as dishonesty. Eyes are the most important element. Whether someone is good-looking or homely, the public first looks at the eyes -- how direct they are, how strong.
>
> When the public says 'I like that person' or 'I don't like him,' it's usually a question of trust. When you get a candidate with good eyes, you've got something going for you. Bad eyes, and you have a problem. Scoop Jackson is the perfect example. Scoop is a very credible human being, but he has a nervous twitch in both eyes that he can't help. When you see him on television, those eyes are always moving. It presents a terrible image problem for him. People think, 'Gee, that's a creepy fellow'. . .I'd have his eyes operated on.[19]

The nature of the medium affects both individual candidates and campaign styles--print emphasizing issues, electronic media emphasizing emotions-- resulting in "the transformation of elective politics from a clash of words- and-ideas conveyed in print to a contest of images-and-feelings broadcast on television."[20] In addition, the electronic media provides "instant information". The speed of television transmission, intensified by the introduction of videotape, allows candidates to react to events as they happen in the campaign, and in doing so creates viewer involvement.

As videotape is currently revolutionizing campaigns, the progression from black-and-white to color allowed candidates to better project character. Black-and-white is still used to denote a newsreel, documentary style. But "color adds a greater emotional impact to the medium, decreases the importance of the spoken word on television, and makes the viewer more a participant and less an observer."[21] Color television commercials also elicit more recall than black-and-white.[22] Color television was one facet of the "new Nixon," enabling him to appear more natural. Black-and-white television could only do so much for Nixon. One campaign adviser, Roger Ailes, remarked of the 1950's Nixon: "Now you put him on television, you've got a problem right away. He's a funny-looking guy. He looks like somebody hung him in a closet overnight and he jumps out in the morning with his suit all bunched up and starts running around saying, 'I want to be President.'"[23] While black-and-white emphasized "Nixon's worst features--deep eyewells, heavy brows, thick beard, transparent skin, and a 'a smile made meaningless by the grin of all the commercial announcers who appear with similar white teeth showing'; color, with its range of contrasts, made Nixon 'a personable man with a tanned, cheerful, and almost glowing countenance.'"[24]

The nature of television as a medium emphasizes emotions--character and charisma. Candidates' projection of characters, campaigns of images, must be based on issues. Ads must resonate with the political situation.

2.3 Political Situation

Political advertising has progressed through distinct stages as politics and television has developed. The influence of television has increased, contributing to the demise of political parties. Jenson describes three styles of political campaigns: the rally campaign, activating and reinforcing party loyalties largely through the party press; the advertising campaign, the merchandising of candidates begun in 1916; and the crusade campaign, interspersed throughout, emphasizing a moral fervor.[25] The merchandising of candidates, selling candidates like soap, was dominant until the 1968 election, after which political spots clearly emerged as a distinct form of advertising.

Moreover, each election is a unique political situation. For example, in the 1974 and 1976 elections sincerity was important. Television advertising displayed fewer slick production techniques and emphasized direct eye contact through talking head commercials. Ford in 1976 used lifestyle ads to promote good feeling and good living, using music to establish mood and his family to establish character. The Ford children talked about their father on the premise that "Sometimes a man's family can tell a lot about the man." Ford is portrayed as religious, protective, and decisive. Jamieson comments "on the syrupy side," noting that "an uninitiated observer might conclude that Ford is running not for president but for father of the year."[26] But remember, voters look to presidents as "father figures." In 1986 there were no overriding issues, and negative ads attacking the opponents's character dominated. Yet negative ads have been used consistently. Man-in-the-street interviews use ordinary citizens, sometimes but not always portrayed by actors, to take cheap shots at candidates. These "ordinary citizens" can attack candidates without negative reactions. In flip-flop, or weathervane, commercials the candidate is seen taking one position than shown taking the opposite stand. The flip-flop spot was used against Humphrey in 1968 and Carter in 1980. Reagan dramatized the "perception of inconsistent Carter leadership" hoping to "damage Carter's strongest trait--his credibility."

Thus the political experiences of candidates also influences campaign advertisements. In Ted Kennedy's first Senate race it was necessary to emphasize his distinct political qualifications to downplay the voters' beliefs that Kennedy was trading in on his brother's name (even though he was). In Reagan's 1966 race for governor of California Stuart Spencer produced awkward, artless commercials in an era of slick political spots to combat the pervasive image of Reagan as an actor. Incumbents and challengers use different strategies, although both attempt to appear presidential. The incumbent has the advantage, shown meeting with foreign leaders, performing official duties, and labeling themselves President. Both challengers and incumbents may use presidential settings: blue suit, desk, flag, oval office setting.

The theories behind advertising, television as a medium, and the political situation combine to produce different styles and techniques in presidential political advertising.

3 POLITICAL CONSULTANTS

With the increasing importance of political advertising in campaigns a new breed of specialist has arisen--the political consultant. Larry Sabato, in The Rise of Political Consultants, defines the consultant as "a campaign professional who is engaged primarily in the provision of advice and services."[27] Political consultants have been criticized for prostituting themselves to the highest bidder with no regard for ethics, in the process destroying the political process. The citizen has no chance to choose a candidate based on issues, as all he or she is offered is a neatly packaged image. Yet campaigning based on character or personality existed long before the advent of television: Tippecanoe and Tyler too, Lincoln's log cabin, and "Ma, Ma, where's my pa?" Furthermore, many consultants limit themselves to one side of the political spectrum or another. There are two professional associations for political consultants which have established an ethical code for campaigning.

Though general, or as critics charge sufficiently vague as to be ineffective, the code serves as a guideline for the Fair Campaign Practices Committee.

The most successful political advertising campaigns share one common attribute: the ability to capitalize on the attitudes, beliefs, and desires of the viewer. Stuart Spencer recognizes the importance of emotions in political campaigns given the nature of television:

> People make value judgments because of what they see on television. They come away from the tube and say 'this is an honest person' or 'this is a thief' or 'this is an idiot,' just because of his eyes or his smile or cut of clothes. Strictly emotional--no basis in fact or sense. It's simply their personal **feelings**. Those feelings are what you have to deal with. How people perceive a candidate is the whole ballgame.[28]

Sabato points out that television is used most effectively when it subtly reinforces existing attitudes and prejudices rather than attempting to change or create new ones. Nimmo reinforces the power of identification: "Sophisticated advertising techniques enable viewers to perceive in candidates the qualities they really want in themselves."[29] Pat Caddell, a political pollster and veteran of the McGovern, Carter, and Hart campaigns, notes "media consultants do not package candidates so much as they package voters' prejudices."[30]

In this section I will examine the work of Tony Schwartz, Joe Napolitan, Charles Guggenheim, and David Garth. I will focus on Schwartz, however, as his writings explicitly illustrate the theories behind nonverbal techniques. In addition, because successful ads are widely copied, Schwartz's ads reflect other consultants' work, and vice-versa.

Schwartz has been working in radio and television advertising campaigns for over thirty years, evoking viewers' ingrained emotions through video and audio wizardry. Schwartz writes:

> Television is an ideal medium for surfacing feelings voters already have, and

> giving these feelings a direction by providing stimuli which may evoke the desired behavior. . .Indeed, the best political commercials are similar to Rorschach patterns. They don't tell the viewer anything. They surface his feelings and provide a context for him to express these feelings. The real question in political advertising is, **how to surround the voter with the proper auditory and visual stimuli to evoke the reaction you want from him, i.e., his voting for a specific candidate.**[31]

The most famous example of Schwartz's style is the 1964 Daisy commercial, in which he showed a young girl picking petals off a daisy with a countdown in the background. The camera zoomed in to her eye and within it imposed an explosion of a nuclear bomb. The caption read "On November 3, vote for President Johnson." Goldwater's name was never mentioned. Schwartz capitalized on the voters' beliefs that Goldwater would lead them into war given his careless statements on the tactical use of nuclear weapons. Schwartz plugged into the feelings of the voters, allowing them to complete the message.

Schwartz is influenced by Marshall McLuhan, emphasizing the effects of the medium on the message. Schwartz writes: "It is futile to employ television and radio in a political campaign as an extension of print or film. Television and radio are received differently from film or print. Our senses expect electronically mediated information to be organized in a particular way, and our brain applies different patterns in making sense of this data."[32] Given the nature of television as "instant information" the campaign slogan is of little use in advertising. The campaign slogan is a throwback to the days of print: fostering a long-range program rather than reacting and adapting to campaign occurrences. Yet campaigns, and thus advertising, should be based on a theme. They should not, however, be based on a single issue.

Rather than bringing the candidate to the voters, through moving the candidate through crowds, the commercial should bring the voters to the candidate:

> I believe it is far more important to understand and affect the inner feeling of a voter in relation to a political candidate, than to package an image which voters tend not to believe anyway. It would be more correct to say that the goal of a media advisor is to tie up the voter and deliver him to the candidate. So it is really the voter who is packaged by media, not the candidate. The voter is surrounded by media and dependent on it in his every day life functioning. The stimuli a candidate uses on the media thus surround the voter. It is part of his environment, his packaging.[33]

Schwartz directly attacks the use of the Unique Selling Proposition by Rosser Reeves, no longer effective give the nature of the electronic media. The U.S.P. is a version of hard-sell advertising: selling through repetition. The U.S.P. emphasizes, and creates if necessary, the difference between the client's product and all other products. Hard-sell worked in Eisenhower's 1952 and 1956 campaigns because television was a novelty, as was the appearance of candidates in televised political advertising. Thus even primitive attempts at attracting the viewers' attention were effective. The hard-sell technique, the merchandising of the politician as a product, is no longer successful. Today's political advertising uses soft-sell: selling through emotion. Schwartz believes the U.S.P. is no longer effective not only because it fails to capture attention, but also because viewers are skeptical of advertising claims. Viewers are not able to distinguish fact from fiction in commercials and thus claims of uniqueness are not necessarily effective: "The reader simply will or will not believe each company's particular claim."[34] Viewers instead identify with a product through feelings, not facts: "Since you feel quality that can affect you emotionally in radio and television commercials, U.S.P. is not longer necessary. . .Credibility in electronic media comes mainly from how the commercial makes you feel."[35] Print is the medium in which issues and product differences can be emphasized: "We look to the written word for the communication of facts and issues, but the television medium is more emotional and appeals to different interests."[36]

Schwartz recognizes the nature of television as an intimate medium and uses it accordingly: "A voter wants the candidate to talk to him, not at him; to use the medium not as a large public address system, but rather as a private **undress** system."[37] Television enters the listener's personal space; communication aimed at the social zone is not effective. Politicians should not shout at the candidate as if giving a speech to a large audience. They should converse with the voter. As mentioned above, this principle is also explicitly formulated by Atkinson. Schwartz in his advertisements recognizes the conversational nature of television. If the political spot does feature a candidate addressing a crowd it should be framed for the home viewer. The context of the speech must be evident. An example of inept television use, ignoring this principle, is Adlai Stevenson's spot in which he was shown addressing a large crowd, not made clear to the home viewer. It appeared as if Stevenson was shouting in the viewers' living rooms. Schwartz believes most candidates and their consultants do not recognize the conversational demeanor required in television. This handicap is magnified as most campaign settings disallow personal interaction with the viewer:

> **It is much more important for a voter to feel the candidate than to see him.** Despite all myths to the contrary, a candidate's physical appearance alone does not win him many votes. But looks can lose votes. Generally, candidates tend to **look** dishonest, but **sound** honest. This visual handicap is magnified by the fact that most situations where a voter is likely to see the candidate are detrimental to his visual presentation of self. Television in particular is very difficult to structure for effective visual communication of a candidate. The candidate usually has no feeling of who is looking at him; he doesn't know which camera is on; and the lighting typically puts him in a spotlight situation, not an interpersonal encounter. For these and other reasons, I tend to use the candidate much more on radio than television.[38]

Given the size of the television audience, though, it is not sufficient to use radio alone: to reach a wide and diverse audience the candidate must use television. Schwartz, when working in television, uses several techniques to personalize the medium. To project

the feeling of an interpersonal interaction between voter and candidate Schwartz employs the talking head commercial. The candidate looks directly at the camera and talks to the viewer. When taping, Schwartz has the candidate look at him when talking to assure a conversational tone. Schwartz used this technique with Carter in 1980. Schwartz taped these ads in the waning days of the campaign as the Carter team grew desperate. According to polls, their slickly produced commercials were not working. Schwartz opted for the talking head as one way to counter voters' beliefs (deduced from polls) that Carter was not an effective leader and had made too many mistakes. Schwartz returned to Carter's strengths--his honesty, his character. The relatively short time it takes to produce videotape commercials allowed Schwartz to adapt to the polls. Schwartz notes the advantage of new technology in enabling consultants to react to events: "Videotape, combined with a task- orientation approach, can satisfy the public's demand for a fresh candidate."[39] The task-orientation approach is the brainchild of Joe Napolitan, who often works with Schwartz. Napolitan recognizes the importance of character in campaigns: "There's no secret formula for controlling emotions, but emotions control every campaign."[40] Napolitan attempted to transform Ted Kennedy's image following his 1980 primary losses in Iowa and Maine, making subtle changes in Kennedy's appearance. Kennedy's hair was cut short, he gave up his half-rim glasses that "made him look like a patriarch," and tried to moderate his booming speaking style.

The task-oriented commercial takes advantage of the nature of television as a participatory medium. The commercial is designed to sell the candidate by interacting with the voter in his/her own environment. For example, in one spot Napolitan designed his commercials for the beach crowd on Labor Day. Drive-time spots are another variant of this approach. Napolitan in one campaign focused on the radio stations congressmen listened to on their way to and from work, derived from a demographic analysis, to hit his

target audience. Ford in 1976 aimed radio spots at commuters. Schwartz writes: "The people listening are actually part of the content of any commercial. Their feelings and beliefs interact with the commercial stimuli in creating attitudinal changes. Viewers are not a target of communication, but actually a work force."[41]

A crucial element in using the voter as work force is integrating the viewers' attitudes with the commercial--completing the enthymeme. Schwartz recognizes the importance of voters' political expectations, and thus the importance of character in voters' decisions: "voters are looking for the man best capable of dealing with the issues. . .Understanding this, the task of a media specialist is not to reveal a candidate's stand on issues, so much as to help communicate those personal qualities of a candidate which are likely to win votes."[42] To communicate personal qualities Schwartz ties into to voters' emotions with "commonplace symbols which have an emotional meaning for nearly everyone. . .his visuals are extraordinarily simple and slow-moving. . .If his visuals are simple, they are nonetheless intense. He uses many extreme close-ups, closer than anyone in television. Further, he rarely tries to communicate more than one idea in any commercial."[43] Again, the Daisy commercial serves as an exemplar of Schwartz's style.

Schwartz recognizes the potency of vocalics in plumbing viewers' emotions: the tone of voice and expressiveness in one phrase is given to another phrase to evoke the same feelings. Schwartz gives as an example transferring a worried mother's tone of voice in saying to a child "You don't feel well? Come to Mama," to a commercial in which the announcer says in the same tone of voice "Got a headache? Come to Bufferin." Schwartz writes: "In this way, commercials try to connect with built-in emotional signals stored in our brain. . .The most effective commercials do not tell us what to do or how to react. They present carefully chosen stimuli that evoke certain inner connections and elicit the desired behavior or reaction."[44]

Schwartz's commercials work precisely because they exploit the technology of television: its unique ability to transmit emotions primarily through nonverbal messages. The work of other successful political consultants also reflects the effectiveness of emotion-based advertising.

Charles Guggenheim states: "You try to communicate those qualities which made you believe in and respect this man - and you try to do that withing this arbitrary time period. That's the beginning and the end of it."[45] Guggenheim's cinema verite style, capturing the candidate talking informally with voters in natural settings, promotes the sense of viewer as participant. The candidate is pictured walking among the people, campaigning informally. In addition, the contrived spontaneity, with imperfections, resembles reality and therefore adds believability. Cinema verite, with the hand-held camera and documentary shots of the candidate, also has the advantage of similarity to news-style, capturing the audience's attention through confusion. Guggenheim used cinema verite in the 1972 McGovern campaign:

> Guggenheim's television ads placed McGovern in the midst of a group of citizens in a nonstudio environment. The ads generally opened with a wide establishing shot that identified the participants and the setting-- a factory, a farmyard, a school. As McGovern responded to the citizens' questions, the handheld camera situated the home viewer as an eavesdropper in the scene-- occasionally someone's head would block part of the viewer. The questions and answers were spontaneous and unscripted. The cameraman tightened on the candidate as he answered, then pulled back from him and roamed.[46]

Guggenheim sees his ads as stressing the candidate's human qualities, similar to Schwartz. Guggenheim's major goal in McGovern's 1972 presidential campaign was "to reveal who this human being was, and he wanted the TV viewer as an observer-participant in a natural and real communication act."[47] Guggenheim believes it takes time for the voter to get to know the candidate, and thus the shorter production spots, emphasizing

technique, "bring attention not to the candidate but to the image makers."[48] Cinema verite brings attention to the candidate because its technique is hidden, not because there is no technique. The viewer is part of the commercial, is on the scene, is with the candidate on the campaign trail rather than in his/her own living room. While cinema verite has been used less since 1965, the underlying technique pervades other campaign advertising styles.

David Garth also emphasizes the news-style, using issue-based advertising to promote an image of concern for the facts. Garth uses negative advertising for its resemblance to investigative journalism. Blumenthal, in The Permanent Campaign, summarizes Garth's style:

> Garth's ads are always factual. He presents reality unadorned, yet with completely biased implications. They are thirty-second documentaries reporting facts for political purposes. . .He offers information as prop, oversimplifying and complicating things. He may lend gravity to the lightweight and importance to the insignificant. . .Garth defines political experience through his ads, dramatizing events and issues in a reasoning way. It's objective on the surface, but thoroughly subjective in intent.[49]

One of Garth's standard techniques is a talking head with script crawling along the bottom. The script moves so rapidly it is impossible to read the first time through, promoting the image of thoroughness as well as challenging the viewer to pay more attention the next time the commercial is shown. As the commercial is repeated the script is slowed down. Garth states: "In an era when voters are skeptical about politicians, facts are required. When information commercials are shown over and over again, viewers discover something new every time they see them."[50] At least the appearance of facts is driven home. The inability to read the script reflects the relative importance of verbal and nonverbal messages in television advertising. The verbal is important as it projects an image of concern with the issues, as does the talking head format. Rather than being able to recite the issue positions, the voter should come away with an impression of the

candidate's character. To ensure the correct image, Garth controls every aspect of his clients' campaigns. He "manages, coaches, and dresses candidates." Garth had Lindsay undergo relaxation exercises and made Heinz diet.

Schwartz, Guggenheim, and Garth have had success as political consultants as they have molded the nature of television to political candidates in specific political situations. As the technology of television develops new formats will evolve, other styles will decay. Today hard-sell is out, soft-sell is in. Yet voters will continue to vote, for the most part, not on the basis of individual issues; but on image, on emotion-laden messages. To master the art of television political campaigns, consultants must master plugging into voters' attitudes, beliefs, and desires.

4 CONCLUSION

> The incredulity of political activists notwithstanding, Ronald Reagan could be elected President of the United States. He is the purest image candidate on the American scene and we still have no idea how far a man can go in politics today by exploiting the conditioned image responses of television viewers.[51]

Written by Gene Wyckoff in 1968 this prediction seems extraordinarily perceptive, if not psychic. At the time Reagan was in the middle of his first term as governor of California, employing reactionary tactics to suppress protests against Vietnam. His first serious attempt at the presidency would not be until 1976. A conversion of political circumstances--the growing popularity of a conservative ideology combined with dissatisfaction with Carter's ineffectual leadership; and political savvy, the projection of Reagan's image as a decisive leader who would stand up for America--vaulted Reagan into the presidency in 1980. Once in office, Reagan's knowledge of television helped him maintain almost unparalleled popularity (at least since Eisenhower and until Iran) through dissassociation from his unpopular policies.

Reagan has mastered projection of a presidential image: "a father figure, a product of the technological age, and a savior in times of trouble." Campaign consultants, most notably Stuart Spencer, have molded Reagan's image, attuning his right-wing ideology to a moderate public. They have skillfully used his fatherly demeanor to soften Ghengis Khan policies. In his 1984 re-election campaign Reagan used slice-of-life spots combined with talking head commercials to project an image of a decisive leader who had brought America back, "standing tall". Mondale's campaign was issue-based: a print-campaign ill-fitting an electronic age; a voice of gloom projecting despair.

Given a choice of feeling good about themselves or acknowledging defeat, the voters opted for the former. The advertisements that jelled with citizens' attitudes, beliefs, and desires won the audience's hearts and votes.

Given the above, there remain three general principles to presidential campaign advertisements. First, the Office of the Presidency exerts a fundamental influence on political advertisements. Given the importance of the position, its nature as symbolic representative of the nation, and the impossibility of predicting future events, the President's ability to act in a crisis situation, his character, is a primary determinant in voters' choices and thus influence political advertising. Second, political advertisements must respond to the candidates personal and political history. Unkown candidates, for example, must first establish name recognition. Third, political advertisements are responses to political situations. Certain types of advertisements evolve and decay. There are patterns through history (merchandising, talking-head, lifestyle, and negative) and patterns in individual campaigns (name recognition, positive, negative, and vision). Moreover, each consultant emphasizes certain techniques and styles. But all capitalize on the ability of television to transmit emotions: promoting participation through the mobile camera, vocalics and a

conversational style; and recognizing the proection of character through costuming, cosmetics, kinesics, and organismics.

Does the nature of televised political advertising spell doom for the political process: a never-ending diet of sugar, candy, and cake? Probably not. Advertisements are situational: the political context influences styles and techniques. One constant will remain: the nature of television emphasizing visuals, magnifying the voters' choice of a president based on his/her character, based on emotions. It is no longer relevant to argue that emotion-laden presidential political advertising should be eliminated, reinforced by Caddell in a memo to Carter: "Too many good people have been defeated because they tried to substitute substance for style, they forgot to give the public the kind of visible signals that it needs to understand what is happening."[52] Politicians must use television to reach a wide and diverse audience, and television is a medium that persuades primarily through nonverbal emotional messages. Even issue-based advertising is used primarily to promote an image of concern for the issues. Ideally, voters would turn to print for issue positions and ideology. Given the responsibilities of the President, however, television just might be the perfect medium for choosing an executive. It is character that determines the ability to handle complex and often unforeseen issues, and character that is best displayed by the nonverbals of television.

NOTES

[1]David Chagall, The New Kingmakers (NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1981) 341.

[2]Tony Schwartz, Media: The Second God (NY:1981) 79.

[3]Dan Nimmo and Robert L. Savage, Candidates and Their Images (Pacific Palisades, CA: Goodyear Publishing Co., Inc.) 8.

[4]Sidney Blumenthal, The Permanent Campaign (Boston: Beacon Press, 1980) 5.

[5]Stephen J. Wayne, The Road to the White House (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1981) 194.

[6]Joe McGinniss, The Selling of the President 1968 (NY: Washington Square Press, 1969) 205-6. All emphasis in originals.

[7]Ray Hiebert, Robert F. Jones, John d'Arc Lorenz, and Ernest A. Lotito, The Political Image Merchants (Washington, D.C.: Acropolis Books Ltd., 1975) 102-3.

[8]See Walter R. Fisher, "Romantic Democracy, Ronald Reagan, and Presidential Heroes," WJSC, 46 (Summer 1982), 299-310.

[9]Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media (NY: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1964) 317.

[10]Max Atkinson, Our Master's Voices (NY: Methuen, 1984) 87.

[11]Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Packaging the Presidency (NY: Oxford University Press, 1984) 324.

[12]Gene Wyckoff, The Image Merchants (NY: MacMillan Co., 1968) 217.

[13]McGinniss 83.

[14]Blumenthal 5.

[15]Chagall 117.

[16]McLuhan 311.

[17]McLuhan 226.

[18]Chagall 250.

[19]Chagall 363.

[20]Chagall 3.

[21]Dan Nimmo, The Political Persuaders (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970) 143.

[22]Nimmo, The Political Persuaders 143.

[23]McGinniss 104.

[24]Nimmo, The Political Persuaders 143.

[25]Dan Nimmo and Keith Sanders, "The Emergence of Political Communication as a Field," in Nimmo and Sanders Handbook of Political Communication (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1981) 23+.

[26]Jamieson 348.

[27]Larry J. Sabato, The Rise of Political Consultants (NY: Basic Books, Inc., 1981) 8.

[28]Chagall 57.

[29]Nimmo, The Political Persuaders 144.

[30]Sabato 145.

[31]Tony Schwartz, "The Inside of the Outside," reprinted in Robert Agranoff, The New Style in Election Campaigns (Boston: Holbrook Press, Inc., 1976) 351.

[32]Schwartz, "Inside" 344.

[33]Schwartz, "Inside" 345.

[34]Schwartz, Media: The Second God 64.

[35]Schwartz, Media: The Second God 64-5.

[36]Schwartz, Media: The Second God 148.

[37]Schwartz, "Inside" 346.

[38]Schwartz, "Inside" 347.

[39]Schwartz, "Inside" 356.

[40]Chagall 14.

[41]Schwartz, "Inside" 354.

[42]Schwartz, "Inside" 356.

[43]John Carey, Introduction to Schwartz, Media: The Second God xv.

[44]Schwartz, Media: The Second God 599.

[45]L. Patrick Devlin, "Contrasts in Presidential Campaign Commercials," in Agranoff 337.

[46]Jamieson 287-8.

[47]Devlin 338.

[48]Devlin 339.

[49]Blumenthal 79.

[50]Chagall 180.

[51]Wyckoff 236.

[52]Blumenthal 41.